

Dear Js,

1/6/73

Having been spared the predicted blizzard (it will go to the south of us, it now seems) we'll be going to dinner at the local editor's and I've about an hour before the sun will be too low to see if I can safely dig a new home for the nice firm we had for Xmas, I'm indulging myself and postponing the last of the painful dunning letter I have to write until tomorrow. They tear me up some. (Between them, the three largest wholesalers owe us close to \$15,000, without interest. The one I have yet to dun owes over \$4,000.) I tell my self-indulging self that delaying the digging permits the wind to dry the earth some. I've decided with Lil's agreement, to put this fir between long-needled white pines and where there are no other evergreens except some small pfitzer junipers I've just planted, the point of all to give us more swimming-pool privacy. I swim naked and I'm hoping to get HER to that relaxing point.

With the proper self-justifications, your 1/2/73:

Hal is right on the use in O in NO. That I remembered. It is my hope that he sent me a copy rather than the original because I've looked for and can't locate the copy I had. JG might even have it. He is and was the second circular file. Nothing ever came back. I did not recall the date because I didn't consult O in NO, being cure of my recollection. Given the date and the pub, it can be consulted. But not by me in any local library. Maybe HR can do at Penn or Cesar at Lib. Congress. I'll await further word, and please thank Hal, however it turns out. I was pretty sure he was my source. My then interest was McLaney.

Now that I have paper, if and when I get the Patman report, not hearing transcript, as I read if there is anything you would seem to want, I'll copy and send.

Nixon Hatchetmen: much more on this now not only apparent but reported. I think we'll return to this later. Read letter several hours ago.

If something happens to the Finley/Dorothy tape, no great loss. Sending original. Return at leisure. I'm expecting a call that I may want to tape. If not in this, in next 3cl. No rush on returning.

Ampolsk: why should he have flipped and stayed out of it for so long, assuming he was not mentally ill to begin with? I have more dependable reports of people with LHO than you can imagine, and more of his efforts to trip revanchist Cubans into over-reaction than a thorough investigation might be expected to produce (wasn't really thorough), so I assume it was an extensive effort he made and that he did have associates. The last was only a short while before the ITM picketing, the same day, and I learned it not in N.O. and only a little over a year ago, from two who saw it, at Canal, on the neutral ground, N.O.ese for the island or dividing strip. (Realistic as well as typical!) As I recall Ampolsk timing, not one reported by WC or in WR. If you did not read my ellipsis in O in NO, I believe Fain forced LHO to go to work for FBI when he saw LHO in Fort Worth. Or, LHO was working for them in N.O. (So was Quiroga, Confirmed.)

Yours view of GL is more charitable than mine. I think he'd blown himself earlier and that he is no longer concerned about blowing landslide. I don't think we really know the extent of adverse opinion home or abroad. (Early reports of Utrecht demonstration today began with crowd estimates 50,000 but CBS increased to 200,000 by 9 a.m. here. That is for Holland and such a city a massive demonstration, esp. in winter. (What you later say about our field military reported promptly on TV net newscasts, also not usual.)

I believe he knew what he was doing and that is why he did do it, that he deliberately prevented agreement. I think I addressed this re derK earlier.

I also think that because he has determined to reorder the entire country, not just because he has crossed the thin line, he is unconcerned about exposure or political cost in terms of the US of the past. He expects a Brave New one. Refs include my earlier comments on seeming political stupidities, esp. rural. Since then even Poage has denounced. From his perspective, he can't lose in this deal. He blasts them into surrender, which he and his closer pals were capable of believing possible, or he makes the situation worse. (Some of the higher-echelon military, excuse the expression, thinkers, may have thought it possible and may have been content with the new step toward authoritarianism inherent.) He could be happy with either. What you say is relevant to a normal President, if even a very bad one, but I don't think to a Nixophrenic. One who won't stand again. (Refs include those to how silent the Noble Spiro has been and is more than two months now. What a big foot to keep his mouth closed for so long.)

Before you can get this, derK will be in Paris. I admit I'll be surprised if Nixon permits any settlement on terms other than those he could not win in battle. This means no settlement. Ergo, his design is no settlement. He is nuts, but not this nuts. Nor are the military. Everyone has been careful to keep hieu in the veto slot. Beginning with LBJ, meaning his advisers, esp. military.

Further, I think he is capable of ordering resumed bombing if he can't get through negotiations what he can't possibly get any other way. The two restraining forces I can conceive have been largely eliminated, certainly diminished, by his restructuring of the government, which makes it impossible for them to reach him, suggesting in turn that the idea may not be entirely his. Those in the military who reacted as you say and who would by now have indicated the possibility of an airman's revolt; and those who recognize that the most powerful country in history can be badly hurt by the manifestations possible by the inflamed rest of the world. However, the sinister would regard this as still another instrumentality for imposing a repressive government, and they would not hurt, nor would the top in industry, who have always found GOP administrations those in which they had the best chance of absorbing smaller elements.

You are right about derK's zero bargaining power. He and Nixon know this. Why, then, go back? Not to capitulate. Not Richard I and II. K could make it look otherwise.

The one thing I think might frustrate this is Congressional noises. Earlier I said Richard I and II was moving too fast. This may be the one hope I can see, and I don't expect it to endure if I am right in the possibility. (Not as of today more than a possibility in my jaundiced view.)

The military may be more influenced by the large percentage of their B52s that they have lost and the influence of this on Congress, which still puts up the \$\$\$, than on regrets about or concern over the ineffectiveness of bombing. Even if they deceived themselves into ingoring the WWII studies of a more industrialized society's survival, and self-deception is quite possible. The military remains hungup on Russia, I'm sure, and their thinking requires more B52s than they now have available. Aren't half committed to VN? I think they'll be quite unwilling to commit a larger percentage. Especially with such losses, if only what they admit.

Is it just a retreat to the other side of my mountain? I recognize the possibility, but I think his detachment is because he regards himself as Richard I & II and feels he is not accountable to anyone. I don't think it's fear. I think it is to facilitate the reordering of the mechanisms that has begun. He sees those he wants to see. They are not a small number except in percentages, based on those who in terms of the past he would be seeing. Authoritarianism ~~may~~ may not be the best description, but I've no better one now.

Thus I think he may have made Henry's position close to intolerable for Henry, who I think is less sinister and much brighter.

With no domestic precedent and assuming his is a sick head, analysis is not easy. I sure hope I'm wrong!

Now, on your dedication to "our staunch NATO ally: (She has just brought me the heel of a fresh-baked loaf, so one fingering.) Early a.m. radio news here today quoting communicable-disease center identifies bug as both London and British. Also said entire Bay area, not just those of Chron 12/30, among four or five worst in country. For some reason the hard-hitting of DC has not prompted similar Post reporting. DC and Balt. have been bas from the first... Your local code designation is easy to break, A British 72 (officially now both London and British, but London refs. predominate hereabouts and ~~electronically~~ electronically). 72 is year and A means they expect our staunch allies to reverse lend-lease again! ? We've had A and B strians in recent years, I think including Hongkong. More seriously, I think they all mutate.

Now to the pines and the fir!

Best,